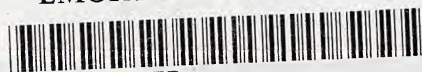




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World Spotlight TURNS ON Westminster



ON DECEMBER 18, 1945, President McCluer dropped a bombshell that shook even the deep roots of the Columns when he announced that Mr. Winston Churchill, former Prime Minister of Britain, and Harry S. Truman, President of the United States, would visit Westminster College. The occasion, The Green Foundation Lecture. Mr. Churchill would make the address and be introduced by President Truman. Immediately letters began to pour in requesting seats for the occasion. In all, over 15,000 requests were received. Equitable distribution of tickets proved to be one of the greatest problems that confronted the committee. Days and weeks of careful planning were required to work out all the details connected with the program.

Basement of Gymnasium Made Into Press Room

The nerve center for the press was set up in the basement of the gymnasium. Western Union had 35 lines and brought operators from as far as Denver, Colorado. Typewriters were borrowed to complete the press work shop. Across the hall in the boxing room a press lounge was set up. The Bell Telephone Company worked for two or three weeks installing direct lines for press and radio people. A new cable containing 600 circuits was set up from the local telephone office to the college campus. Over sixty different newspapers, magazines, and press associations were represented.

Program Carried By Four Major Networks

In the east end of the gymnasium above the bleacher seats, a special platform was erected for the radio networks and independent stations. Columbia, Mutual, American, and National broadcasting networks carried the pro-

gram. Other stations in this locality carrying the program, included KSD, KWK, KXOK, KMOX of St. Louis, WDAF and KMBC of Kansas City, and KHMO of Hannibal. In addition to the program these stations broadcasted the activities throughout the day from the parade route and the campus.

Newsreels Are Represented

High above the twenty-one rows of bleacher seats on a platform swung from the steel girders in the gymnasium, Paramount, Pathe, Universal, and Fox newsreels photographed the procession as it entered the gymnasium and proceeded to the platform. Pictures were made of the program including the presentation of the degrees to President Truman and Mr. Churchill.

Fulton Prepared For the Great Day

The genuine hospitality for which Fulton is well known was at its best on March 5. Like Westminster the community had been preparing for weeks in advance. Truman Ingle, Superintendent of the Missouri State School

for the Deaf, was appointed General Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce Arrangements Committee. Committees working under his general supervision included decorations, rest rooms, housing, airport, feeding, parade, information, traffic signs and parking, and car pool. These committees worked hard and all was in readiness for the greatest crowd ever to visit this college community. The college deeply appreciates the great cooperation given it by the people of Fulton in connection with the visit of its distinguished guests.

Sun Shines On Westminster

For days before the program the chief topic of conversation was the weather. On arising early that morning all knew that the ardent Presbyterian prayers had been answered as the sun was shining bright upon Westminster.

At nine o'clock members of the reception committee which included Dr. Franc L. McCluer, President of Westminster College; Phil M. Donnelly, Governor of Missouri; Walter W. Head, President of the Board of Trustees; A. P. Green, and Neal S. Wood, members of the Board of Trustees; Frank Hensley, Mayor of Fulton; Thomas H. Van Sant, Cashier of the Callaway Bank; Truman Ingle, Chairman of Arrangements Committee for the City of Fulton; Robert Roddy, President of the Westminster College Student Body; and Jesse N. Owens, Mayor of Jefferson City gathered in front of Westminster Hall. The caravan of thirty automobiles led by the Missouri State Highway Patrol escort proceeded to Jefferson City to meet the special train which was bringing the distinguished guests from Washington.

The train arrived fifteen minutes early and the committee was taken aboard to greet the President and Mr. Churchill. Among the first to greet them was Brigadier General Harry H. Vaughan, Military Aide to the President. General Vaughan is an alumnus of Westminster, having been a classmate of Dr. McCluer.

The President's party consisted of Admiral William D. Leahy, Chief of Staff; Mr. John Snyder, War Mobilization Director; Brigadier General Harry H. Vaughan, Military Aide; Capt. Clark McAdams Clifford, Naval Aide;

Col. Wallace H. Graham, Personal Physician; Matthew J. Connelly, Presidential Secretary; Charles G. Ross, Press Secretary; Leonard Reinsch, Radio Advisor; Ted Marks, Kansas City; and John Raeburn Green, member of the Westminster Board of Trustees who had boarded the train in St. Louis.

Mr. Churchill had with him Charles Campbell, British Embassy Information Officer; Col. Frank Clarke, Churchill's Florida Host; and Inspector Williams of Scotland Yard.

The caravan of cars was soon filled with press and radio people. The President and Mr. Churchill appeared on the rear platform of the train and made their way to the President's open car which had preceded them from Washington.

After a short parade through Jefferson City they journeyed over the beautiful winding highway to Fulton. The parade through Fulton was over a two mile route ending at the Scott Gate entrance to Westminster Campus. As the long black car appeared winding its way up the drive, President Truman and Mr. Churchill could be seen sitting on the back of the back seat. The throng of newspaper and radio people on the campus began to cheer. The car stopped in front of President McCluer's home and amid the grinding of movie cameras and a continual flash of press photographers, the President, Mr. Churchill, Dr. McCluer, Governor Donnelly, and Admiral Leahy stepped from the car and proceeded to the front porch of Washington West House where they were greeted by Mrs. McCluer. The party paused and turned around in order that pictures might be taken, and then vanished into the house which was surrounded by secret service men.

The Menu . . . Country Ham and Fried Chicken

At one o'clock Dr. and Mrs. McCluer had a luncheon for President Truman, Mr. Churchill and their party, members of the faculty, and members of the Board of Trustees. Perhaps the words of Mr. Churchill can best describe this luncheon. During the course of the meal

he remarked, "The pig has reached its highest point of evolution in this ham".

After the luncheon the faculty and board were presented to the President and Mr. Churchill.

The wives of faculty members and trustees who had been guests at a luncheon at Reunion Hall, were then invited to Washington West House to meet the distinguished guests.

Academic Procession Colorful

At exactly ten minutes after three the academic procession, under the supervision of C. F. Lamkin, assisted by the Skulls of Seven, Honor Senior Society, emerged from Westminster Hall and proceeded slowly across the campus to the gymnasium. This procession led by Mr. Lamkin, consisted of bearers of the American and British colors, the Glee Club, the presidents of all the senior colleges of Missouri, members of the Board of Trustees, and the members of the faculty. From Washington West House appeared two of the marshal's aids followed by John Raeburn Green, Neal S. Wood, Dr. J. Layton Mauze, Dr. William B. Lampe, Walter W. Head, President of the Board, Col. Graham, Governor Donnelly, Dean Geo. B. Sweazy, General Vaughan, Captain Clifford, Admiral Leahy, Mr. Churchill dressed in his scarlet Oxford robe, Dr. McCluer, President Truman, and an escort of secret service men.

The two processions joined in front of the gymnasium and slowly made their way up the steps, into the gymnasium, through the crowded aisles to their seats. Those who had come from Washington West House were seated upon the platform, which had been tastefully decorated with a backdrop of white trimmed in blue. A great bouquet of snap-

dragons was hung in the center of the backdrop and a large vase of red roses was on each corner in front. The speaker's stand was trimmed and the windows of the gymnasium were draped in a graceful display of smilax.

Gold Star Families Meet the President and Churchill

Fifty-nine alumni of Westminster gave their lives in the great war so recently brought to a victorious conclusion. The parents and families of these boys were invited to be present as special guests of the college. Dr. McCluer asked the President and Mr. Churchill if they would meet these guests at his home after the program in the gymnasium. Both the President and Mr. Churchill were pleased with the suggestion. Fifty-five of the fifty-nine families were represented. The President and Mr. Churchill were visably moved as they met and talked with these gold star families.

At the close of the day, in the privacy of President McCluer's home, Mr. C. D. Smiley, Jr., in behalf of the Board of Trustees, presented Mr. Churchill with an original Thomas Hart Benton painting, and Dr. D. S. Gage and Mr. John Barker, in behalf of the faculty and students, presented President Truman and Mr. Churchill with beautifully inscribed watches.

A large crowd waited outside the McCluer home to get a final glimpse of the President and Mr. Churchill. Both were most gracious in shaking hands with all of those that lined the walk between the home and the President's car.

The motor caravan started its return trip to Jefferson City where the Presidential train was waiting to take them on the return trip to Washington.

Program

Processional, "How Firm a Foundation."

Audience, "Star Spangled Banner" and "God Save the King."

Invocation.

REV. WILLIAM B. LAMPE, D. D.
Moderator of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A.

Welcome.

GOVERNOR PHIL M. DONNELLY

The John Findley Green Foundation

FRANC LEWIS MCCLUER, PH. D.
President of the College

Presentation of the President.

Presentation of Mr. Churchill.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

The Green Lecture, "The Sinews of Peace."

MR. CHURCHILL

Conferring of Honorary Degrees by PRESIDENT MCCLUER —

Citation of Mr. Truman, MR. NEAL S. WOOD.

Citation of Mr. Churchill, MR. JOHN RAEBURN GREEN.

Solo, "Recessional."

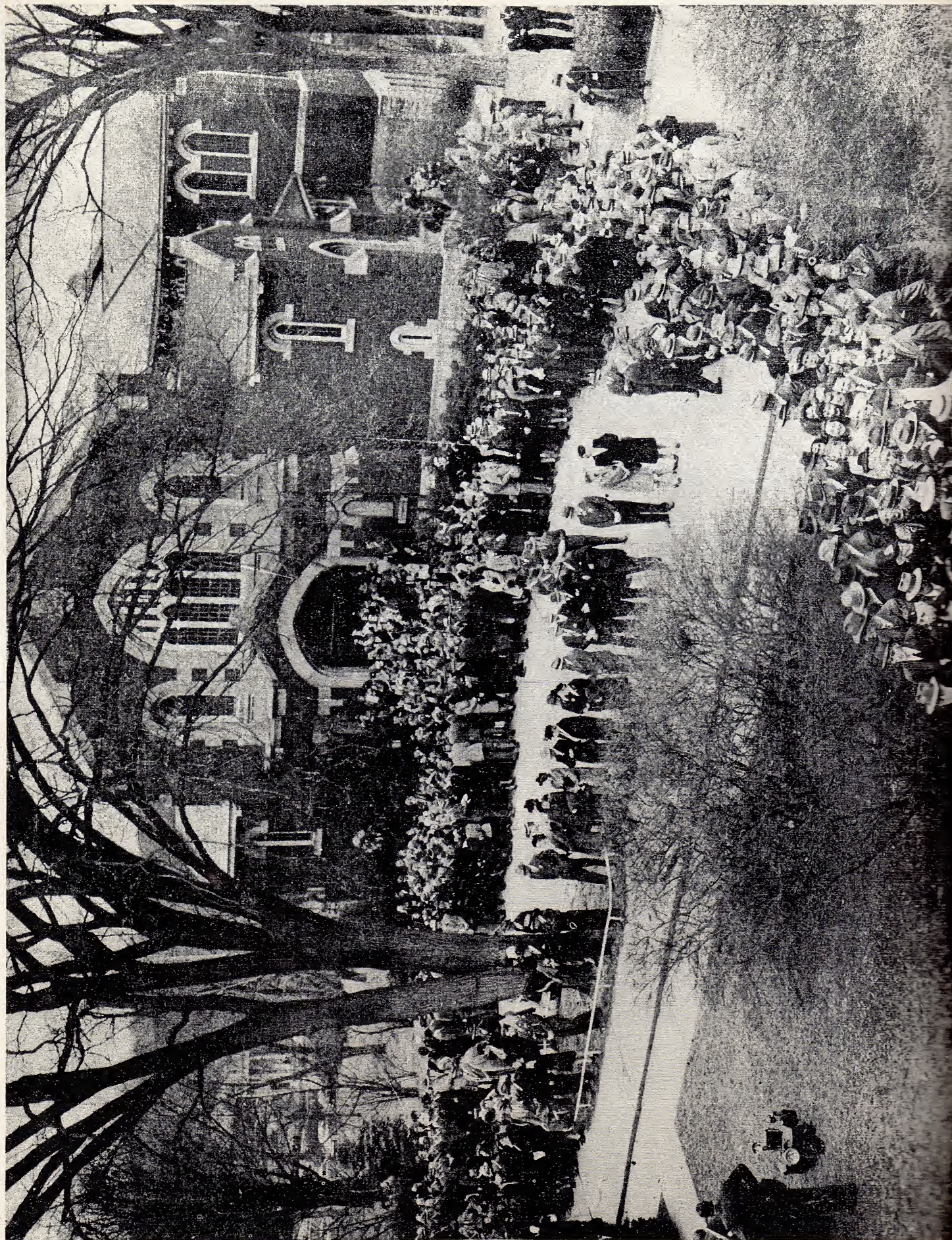
MR. JOHN A. FREDRICK

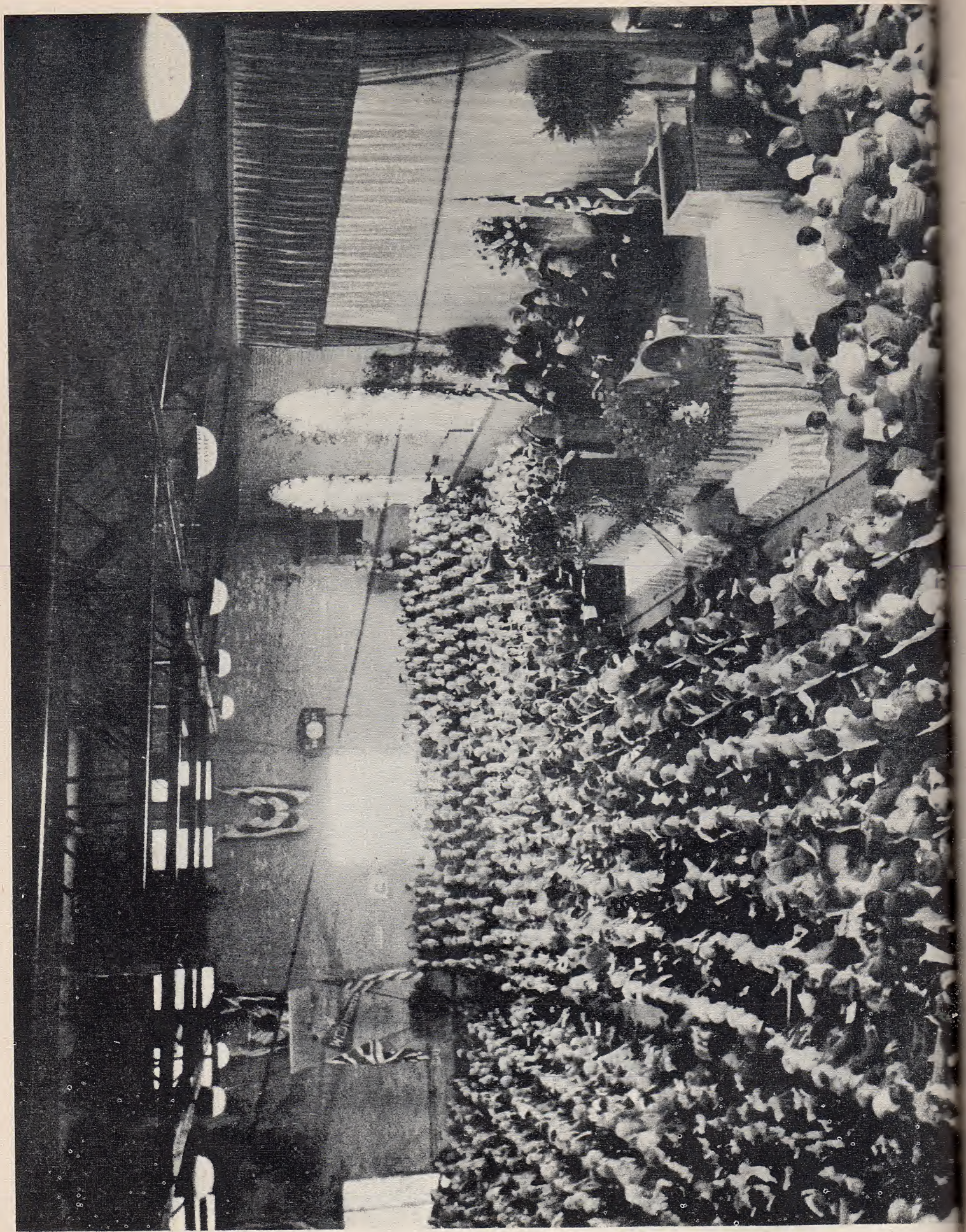
Kipling

Benediction.

REV. J. LAYTON MAUZE, D. D.
Pastor of the Central Presbyterian Church, Kansas City, Missouri

Recessional, "Love Divine, All Love Excelling."





Dr. William B. Lampe

THE Invocation

Let us pray. ALMIGHTY GOD, OUR SAVIOR, we bow before Thee in grateful appreciation of Thy loving kindness and tender mercies. We thank Thee for Thy favor upon the nations whose leaders are meeting here today. We thank Thee for our Christian heritage, for the common ideals of liberty and justice that have bound the people of these nations together through many years and for victory in the war fought to defend and preserve these ideals.

We pray for Thy divine leadership in the days of rebuilding that lie ahead. Remembering that Thou dost require us to do justly and to love mercy, may we sincerely strive to achieve a peace that will be just to all men and merciful to those who are in distress.

We pray that wisdom may be given to the President of the United States, and to all who are in positions of leadership and authority. May they be delivered from pride of spirit, narrowness of mind and selfishness of purpose. May they realize that the freedom humanity seeks can be found only in the truth, so that they may be willing to learn from and to follow Thy Son who has revealed Thy truth.

As we make our supplication we are aware of our sins and failures. We humbly confess them. We plead for Thy forgiveness and cleansing. Deliver us from arrogance and self will. Walking humbly with Thee, may we gain the power to live as the children of God should live.

As we turn our thoughts today to world affairs, we pray for those who were our enemies in war. Remove from our lives and plans everything that delays healing of the wounds of war or that perpetuates hatred and injustice for any people in the world. Hasten the day when all of us as wayward children shall return to our Father's house to dwell together in peace.

May Thy favor at this hour rest upon Mr. Winston Churchill as he guides our thoughts. Aware of a waiting world, grant to him an insight into and an understanding of Thy will and courage to declare it. Use this coming hour to create within the hearts of all who listen a willingness to do Thy will in order that Thy Kingdom may come and that Thy will may be done on earth as it is done in Heaven.

All this we ask through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Governor Donnelly

THE *Welcoming Address*

DR. MCCLUER, HONORED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: As Governor of Missouri, it is a pleasure to extend greetings today to our fellow Missourian, the President of the United States, (Applause) and to that illustrious leader, statesman, and world citizen, the Honorable Winston Churchill. (Applause.)

We are always glad to see our own Harry Truman, who shouldered the tremendous burdens of the Presidency during one of the most critical periods of our history. He has met the challenge of those responsibilities with great courage and capacity. (Applause.) He is doing a splendid job, and we in Missouri are proud of him. (Applause.)

And we are honored by the presence of Mr. Churchill. As this distinguished visitor comes among us, we think of his inspiring and decisive leadership during the war. Seldom has one individual so effected the course of history. (Applause.) Down through the ages, and in the hearts of freedom-loving men everywhere, there will always be remembered the indomitable words and the unflinching courage of this great man. (Applause.) In the darkest days of aggression, he defied the forces of evil. He called upon his countrymen to resist. He rallied the hope of freedom. He led his nation, our allies, to victory. His contribution to the liberty of the world has been so great mankind will never be able to repay him. (Applause.)

He was and is our strong friend, so we welcome Mr. Churchill to Missouri, here in the heart of America, and we are especially glad that he visits a typical Missouri community and a college whose history, traditions, and ideals are so much a part of this great state. Westminster College and Fulton are representative of the best in Missouri life, education, and culture.

All Missourians are proud to join with me today in extending a most cordial welcome to these distinguished guests. We hope that their visit will be as pleasurable for them as it is historic for us. (Applause.)

Dr. Franc L. McCluer

THE JOHN FINDLEY GREEN *Foundation*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: It is a pleasure to welcome you to the seventh of the Green Foundation Lectures.

The John Findley Green Foundation was established at Westminster College in 1937. It is the gift of Mrs. Eleanor Ibbotson Green, a Canadian born woman deeply devoted to her church and to this college. It is a memorial to her husband, John Findley Green, a distinguished lawyer, who was graduated from Westminster in 1884 and subsequently served on its Board for twenty-seven years. From his student days Mr. Green's life exemplified an art which Mrs. Green's gift inspires us to forward — the art of fearless, discerning, and effective public discussion. The Foundation provides for lectures from time to time on political and economic matters of international concern, the lecture to be presented from the standpoint of the Christian philosophy. It is a means of stirring up college men's minds and spirits to impatience at lazy thought and slovenly expression and to the tonic delight of laborious and honest thought in a free field. It has become the instrument of extending greatly the service this college may render the larger community.

Today in this quiet college setting in the very heart of America this Foundation sponsors a program of significance to the world. This occasion cannot but suggest the common heritage of the two great nations represented on this platform, and surely it will emphasize the importance, to all mankind of the ideals of political liberty cradled in England and nourished here as there while "freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent". It is therefore, with great happiness that we welcome all who listen.

Ladies and gentlemen—the President of the United States. (Applause.)

President Truman

INTRODUCING *Mr. Churchill*

PRESIDENT MCCLUER, GOVERNOR DONNELLY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: You know, this is one of the greatest pleasures and privileges I have had since I have been President of the United States. (Applause.) I appreciate most highly Governor Donnelly's welcome to Mr. Churchill and myself, and I am very thankful that Dr. McCluer suggested to me that Mr. Churchill be invited to deliver this lecture today. (Applause.)

I had a letter from Mr. Churchill — oh, six months ago or more — in which he said he was considering a vacation in the United States or in North Africa. (Laughter.) I sent him Dr. McCluer's invitation and made a long-hand note on the bottom of it telling him that if he would spend his vacation in the United States, at whatever point he chose to pick, and then would deliver this lecture, I would make it a point to come to Missouri and personally welcome him and introduce him for that lecture.

I had never met Mr. Churchill personally until the Berlin Conference between Mr. Stalin, Mr. Churchill, and myself. I became very fond of both of them. They are men, and they are leaders in this world today when we need leadership. It is a pleasure to me to introduce Mr. Churchill. He is one of the great men of the age. (Applause.) He is a great Englishman, but he is half American. (Applause.)

Mr. Churchill and I believe in freedom of speech. I understand that Mr. Churchill is going to talk on "The Sinews of Peace". I know that he will have something constructive to say to the world in that speech. I am happy that he came here to deliver it, and it is one of the great privileges of my lifetime to be able to present to you that great world citizen, Mr. Churchill. (Applause.)

Winston Churchill

THE SINEWS *of Peace*



RESIDENT McCLUER, ladies and gentlemen, and last but not least, the President of the United States of America. (Applause.) I am very glad indeed to come to Westminster College this afternoon, and I am complimented that you should give me a degree from an institution whose reputation has been so thoroughly established. The name "Westminster" is somewhat familiar to me. I seem to have heard of it before. Indeed, now that I come to think of it, it was at Westminster that I received a very large part of my education in politics, dialectic, rhetoric and one or two other things. So that, in fact, we have both been educated at the same or similiar or at any rate, kindred establishments.

It is also an honor, ladies and gentlemen, perhaps almost unique, for a private visitor to be introduced to an academic audience by the President of the United States. Amid his heavy burdens, duties and responsibilities — unsought but not recoiled from — the President has traveled a thousand miles to dignify and magnify our meeting here today (applause) and to give me an opportunity of addressing this kindred nation, as well as my own countrymen across the ocean and perhaps some other countries too. The President has told you that it is his wish, as I am sure it is yours, that I should have full liberty to give my true and faithful counsel in these anxious and baffling times. Now, I shall certainly avail myself of this freedom and feel the more right to do so because any private ambitions I may have cherished in my younger days have been satisfied beyond my wildest dreams. Let me, however, make it clear that I have no official mission or status of any kind and that I speak only for myself.

There is nothing here but what you see. (Laughter.) I can, therefore, allow my mind, with the experience of a lifetime, to play over the problems which beset us on the morrow of our absolute victory in arms; and try to make sure with what strength I have that what has been gained with so much sacrifice and suffering shall be preserved for the future glory and safety of mankind.

Ladies and gentlemen, the United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American democracy. With primacy in power is also joined an awe inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, if you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done, but also feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement.

Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must and I believe we shall prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement.

President McCluer, when American military men approach some serious situation they are wont to write at the head of their directive the words, "Overall Strategic Concept". There is wisdom in this as it lends to clarity of thought. What, then, is the Overall Strategic Concept which we should inscribe today? It is nothing less than the safety and welfare, the freedom and progress of all the homes and families of all the men and women in all the lands. And here I speak particularly of the myriad cottage or apartment

homes, where the wage earner strives amid the accidents and difficulties of life, to guard his wife and children from privation and bring the family up in the fear of the Lord or upon ethical conceptions which often play their potent part.

To give security to these countless homes they must be shielded from the two gaunt marauders—War and Tyranny. We all know the frightful disturbance in which the ordinary family is plunged when the curse of war swoops down upon the bread winner and those for whom he works and contrives. The awful ruin of Europe, with all its vanished glories, and of large parts of Asia, glares us in the eyes. When the designs of wicked men or the aggressive urge of mighty states dissolve, over large areas, the frame of civilized society, humble folk are confronted with difficulties with which they cannot cope. For them all is distorted, all is broken, all is even ground to pulp.

And when I stand here this quiet afternoon I shudder to visualize what is actually happening to millions now and what is going to happen in this period when famine stalks the earth. None can compute what has been called "the unestimated sum of human pain". Our supreme task and duty is to guard the homes of the common people from the horrors and miseries of another war. (Applause.) We are all agreed upon that.

Our American military colleagues, after having proclaimed the "Overall Strategic Concept" and computed all available resources, always proceed to the next step, namely The Method. Here again there is widespread agreement. A World Organization has already been erected for the prime purpose of preventing war. UNO, the successor of the League of Nations, with the decisive addition of the United States and all that that means, is already at work. We must make sure that its work is fruitful, that it is a reality and not a sham, that it is a force for action and not merely a frothing of words, that it is a true temple of Peace, in which the shields of many nations can some day be hung up and not merely a cockpit in a Tower of Babel.

Before we cast away the solid assurances of national armaments for self-preservation, we must be certain that our temple is built not upon shifting sands or quagmires but upon the rock. Anyone with his eyes open can see that our path will be difficult and also long, but if we persevere together as we did in the two World Wars,—though not alas in the interval between them—I cannot doubt that we shall achieve our common purpose in the end.

I have, however, a definite and practical proposal to make for action. Courts and magistrates may be set up but they cannot function without sheriffs and constables. The United Nations Organization must immediately begin to be equipped with an International Armed Force. In such a matter we can only go step by step; but we must begin now. I propose that each of the powers and states should be invited to dedicate a certain number of Air Squadrons to the service of the World Organization. These squadrons would be trained and prepared in their own countries but would move around in rotation from one country to another. They would wear the uniform of their own countries but with different badges. They would not be required to act against their own nation but in other respects they would be directed by the World Organization. This might be started on a modest scale and it would grow as confidence grew. I wished to see this done after the First World War, and I trust that it may be done forthwith.

It would, nevertheless, ladies and gentlemen, be wrong and imprudent to entrust the secret knowledge or experience of the atomic bomb, which the United States, Great Britain, and Canada now share, to the World Organization, while it is still in its infancy. It would be criminal madness to cast it adrift in this still agitated and un-united world. (Applause)

No one in any country has slept well in their beds because this knowledge and the method and the raw materials to apply it are at present largely retained in American hands. I do not believe we should all have slept so soundly had the positions been reversed and some Communist or neo-Fascist State monopolized, for the time being, these dread agen-

cies. The fear of them alone might easily have been used to enforce Totalitarian systems upon the free democratic world, with consequences appalling to human imagination. God has willed that this shall not be, and we have at least a breathing space to set our house in order before this peril has to be encountered, and even then, if no effort is spared, we should still possess so formidable a superiority as to impose effective deterrents upon its employment or threat of employment by others. Ultimately, when the essential brotherhood of men is truly embodied and expressed in a world organization with all the necessary practical safeguards to make it effective, these powers would naturally be confided to that World Organization.

Now, I come to the second of the two marauders, to the second danger which threatens the cottage home and ordinary people, namely Tyranny. We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the United States and throughout the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States, control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments, to a degree which is overwhelming and contrary to every principle of democracy. The power of the State is exercised without restraint, either by dictators or by compact oligarchies operating through a privileged party and a political police. It is not our duty at this time, when difficulties are so numerous, to interfere forcibly in the internal affairs of countries which we have not conquered in war. But we must never cease to proclaim in fearless tones the great principles of freedom and the rights of men, which are the joint inheritance of the English-speaking world and which, through Magna Carta, the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, Trial by Jury and the English Common Law, find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence. (Applause.)

All this means that the people of any country have the right and should have the

power by constitutional action, by free, unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell, that freedom of speech and thought should reign, that courts of Justice independent of the Executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent of large majorities or are concentrated by time and custom. Here are the title deeds of freedom which should lie in every cottage home. Here is the message of the British and American peoples to mankind. Let us preach what we practice and let us practice what we preach. (Applause.)

I have now stated the two great dangers which menace the homes of the people—War and Tyranny. I have not yet spoken of poverty and privation which are in many cases the prevailing anxiety. But if the dangers of War and Tyranny are removed, there is no doubt that science and cooperation can bring in the next few years—certainly in the next few decades—to the world, newly taught in the sharpening school of war, an expansion of material well-being beyond anything that has yet occurred in human experience. Now, at this sad and breathless moment, we are plunged in the hunger and distress which are the aftermath of our stupendous struggle; but this will pass, and may pass quickly, and there is no reason except human folly or sub-human crime which should deny to all the nations, the inauguration and enjoyment of an age of plenty. I have often used words which I learned fifty years ago from a great Irish-American orator, a friend of mine, Mr. Bourke Cockran. "There is enough for all. The earth is a generous mother; she will provide in plentiful abundance food for all her children if they will but cultivate her soil in justice and in peace." (Applause.) So far I feel that we are in full agreement. Now, while still pursuing the method of realizing our overall strategic concept, I come to the crux of what I have traveled here to say.

Neither the sure prevention of war, nor the continuous rise of world organization will be gained without what I have called the frater-

nal association of the English-speaking peoples. (Applause.) This means a special relationship between the British Commonwealth and Empire and the United States of America. Ladies and gentlemen, this is no time for generalities and I will venture to be precise. Fraternal association required not only the growing friendship and mutual understanding between our two vast but kindred systems of society but the continuance of the intimate relations between our military advisors, leading to common study of potential dangers, the similarity of weapons and manuals of instruction, and to the interchange of officers and cadets at colleges. It should carry with it the continuance of the present facilities for mutual security by the joint use of all naval and air force bases in the possession of either country all over the world. This would perhaps double the mobility of the American Navy and Air Force. It would greatly expand that of the British Empire Forces and it might well lead, if and as the world calms down, to important financial savings. Already we use together a large number of islands; more may well be entrusted to our joint care in the near future. The United States already has a permanent Defense Agreement with the Dominion of Canada, which is so devotedly attached to the British Commonwealth and Empire. This Agreement is more effective than many of those which have often been made under formal Alliances. This principle should be extended to all the British Commonwealths with full reciprocity. Thus, whatever happens, and thus only shall we be secure ourselves and able to work together for the high and simple causes that are dear to us and bode no ill to anyone. Eventually there may come, I feel eventually there will come, the principle of common citizenship, but that we may be content to leave to destiny, whose outstretched arms many of us can already clearly see.

There is, however, an important question we must ask ourselves. Would a special relationship between the United States and the British Commonwealth be inconsistent with our over-riding loyalties to the World Organ-

ization? I reply that, on the contrary, it is probably the only means by which that organization will achieve its full stature and strength. There are already the special United States relations with Canada which I have just mentioned and there are other relationships between the United States and the South American Republics. We British also have our Twenty Years Treaty of Collaboration and Mutual Assistance with Soviet Russia. I agree with Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain that it might well be a Fifty Years Treaty so far as we are concerned. We aim at nothing but mutual collaboration with Russia. We, the British, have an alliance with Portugal unbroken since 1384. None of these clash with the general interest of a world agreement or a world organization. On the contrary, they help it. "In my Father's house are many mansions." Special associations between members of the United Nations which have no aggressive point against any other country, which harbor no design incompatible with the Charter of the United Nations, far from being harmful, are beneficial, and, as I believe, indispensable.

I spoke earlier, ladies and gentlemen, of the Temple of Peace. Workmen from all countries must build that temple. If two of the workmen know each other particularly well and are old friends, if their families are intermingled, if they have faith in each other's future, and charity towards each other's shortcomings, to quote some good words I read here the other day, why cannot they work together at the common task as friends and partners? Why can they not share their tools and thus increase each other's working powers? Indeed they must do so or else the temple may not be built or, being built, it may collapse, and we shall all be proved again unteachable and have to go and try to learn again for a third time, in a school of war, incomparably more rigorous than that from which we have just been released. The dark ages may return, the Stone Age may now return on the gleaming wings of science, and what might now shower immeasurable material blessings upon mankind, may even

bring about its total destruction. Beware, I say; time may be short. Do not let us take the course of allowing events to drift along till it is too late. If there is to be a fraternal association of the kind I have described, with all the extra strength and security which both our countries can derive from it, let us make sure that that great fact is known to the world, and that it plays its part in steadying and stabilizing the foundations of peace and is the path of wisdom. Prevention is better than cure.

A shadow has fallen upon the scene so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and good will in Britain, and I doubt not here also, towards the peoples of all the Russias, and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her Western frontiers by the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome her to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. Above all, we welcome constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty, however, for I am sure you do not wish me to mis-state the facts to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe—I am sure I do not wish to, but it is my duty, I feel, to present them to you.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all those famous cities and the populations around them, lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence

but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone, with its immortal glories, is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed of are now taking place. The Communist parties which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case and, so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favors to groups of left-wing German leaders. At the end of the fighting last June, the American and British Armies withdrew westwards, in accordance with an earlier agreement, to a depth at some points of 150 miles on a front of nearly 400 miles in order to allow the Russians to occupy this vast expanse of territory which the Western Democracies had conquered. If now the Soviet Government tries, by separate action, to build up a pro-Communist Germany in their areas, this will cause new serious difficulties in the British and American zones, and will give the defeated Germans the power of putting themselves up to auction between the Soviets and the Western Democracies. Whatever conclusions may be drawn from these facts, and facts they are, this is certainly not the liberated Europe we fought to build up. Nor is it one which contains the essentials of permanent peace.

The safety of the world, ladies and gentlemen, requires a new unity in Europe from which no nation should be permanently out-cast. It is from the quarrels of the strong

parent races in Europe that the world wars we have witnessed or which occurred in former times have sprung.

Twice in our own lifetime we have seen the United States against their wishes and traditions, against arguments the force of which it is impossible not to comprehend — twice we have seen them drawn by irresistible forces into these wars in time to secure the victory but only after frightful slaughter and devastation occurred.

Twice the United States has had to send millions of its young men across the Atlantic to fight a war, but now war can find any nation wherever it may dwell between dusk and dawn.

Surely we should work with conscious purpose for a grand pacification of Europe within the structure of the United Nations and in accordance with our charter. That, I feel, is an open course of policy of very great importance.

In front of the iron curtain which lies across Europe there are other causes for anxiety. In Italy the Communist party is seriously hampered by having to support the Communist trained Marshall Tito's claims to former Italian territory at the head of the Adriatic. Nevertheless the future of Italy hangs in the balance.

Again one cannot imagine a regenerated Europe without a strong France. All my public life I have worked for a strong France and I never lost faith in her destiny even in the darkest hours. I will not lose faith now.

However, in a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist centre.

Except in the British Commonwealth and in the United States, where Communism is in its infancy, the Communist parties or fifth columns constitute a growing challenge and peril to Christian civilization. These are sombre facts for anyone to have to recite on

the morrow of a victory gained by so much splendid comradeship in arms and in the cause of freedom and democracy, but we should be most unwise not to face them squarely while time remains.

The outlook is also anxious in the Far East and especially in Manchuria. The Agreement which was made at Yalta, to which I was a party, was extremely favorable to Soviet Russia, but it was made at a time when no one could say that the German war might not extend through the summer and autumn of 1945 and when the Japanese war was expected by the best judges to last for a further eighteen months from the end of the German war.

In this country you are all so well informed about the Far East, and such devoted friends of China, that I do not need to expatiate on the situation there.

I have, however, felt bound to portray the shadow which, alike in the west and in the east, falls upon the world. I was a Minister at the time of the Versailles Treaty and a close friend of Mr. Lloyd George, who was the head of the British delegation at that time. I did not myself agree with many things that were done, but I have a very strong impression in my mind of that situation, and I find it painful to contrast it with that which prevails now.

In those days there were high hopes and unbound confidence that the wars were over, and that the League of Nations would become all-powerful. I do not see or feel the same confidence or even the same hopes in the haggard world at this present time.

On the other hand, ladies and gentlemen, I repulse the idea that a new war is inevitable; still more that it is imminent. It is because I am so sure that our fortunes are still in our own hands and that we hold the power to save the future, that I feel the duty to speak out now that I have the occasion and the opportunity to do so. (Applause.)

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider

here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries.

Our difficulties and dangers will not be removed by closing our eyes to them. They will not be removed by mere waiting to see what happens; nor will they be removed by a policy of appeasement. What is needed is a settlement, and the longer this is delayed, the more difficult it will be and the greater our dangers will become.

From what I have seen of our Russian friends and allies during the war, I am convinced that there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than for weakness, especially military weakness. For that reason the old doctrine of a balance of power is unsound. We cannot afford, if we can help it, to work on narrow margins, offering temptations to a trial of strength.

If the western democracies stand together in strict adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter, their influence for furthering those principles will be immense and no one is likely to molest them. If, however, they become divided or falter in their duty, and if these all important years are allowed to slip away then indeed a catastrophe may overwhelm us all.

The last time I saw it all coming, and cried aloud to my own fellow countrymen and to the world, but no one paid any attention. Up until the year 1933 or even 1935, Germany might have been saved from the awful fate which has overtaken her and we might all have been spared the miseries Hitler let loose upon mankind.

There never was a war in all history easier to prevent by timely action than the one which has just desolated such great areas of the globe. It could have been prevented in my belief without the firing of a single shot, and Germany might be powerful, prosperous and honored today, but no one would listen and one by one we were all sucked into the awful whirlpool.

We surely must not let that happen again. (Applause.) This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organization and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. There is the solution which I would offer to you in this address to which I have given the title, "Sinews of Peace".

Let no man underrate the abiding power of the British Empire and Commonwealth.

Because you see the forty-six millions in our island harassed about their food supply, of which they only grow one-half, even in war time, or because we have difficulty in restarting our industries and export trade after six years of passionate war effort, do not suppose that we shall not come through these dark years of privation as we have come through the glorious years of agony, (applause) or that half a century from now, you will not see 70 or 80 millions of Britons spread about the world and united in defense of our traditions, our way of life and of the world causes we and you espouse.

If the population of the English speaking Commonwealth be added to that of the United States, with all that such cooperation implies in the air, on the sea and in science and industry, and in moral laws, there will be no quivering, precarious balance of power to offer its temptation to ambition or adventure. On the contrary, there will be an overwhelming assurance of security. (Applause.)

If we adhere faithfully to the Charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of men, if all British moral and material forces and convictions are joined with your own in fraternal association, the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all not only for our time, but for the century to come. (Applause.)

President Truman

CITATION FOR *Degree*

By NEAL S. WOOD,

Member of Board of Trustees of Westminster College

A courageous soldier, a competent and devoted law maker who has faithfully served his people in many capacities, a wise statesman for the cause of peace, our Chief Executive ably carries his heavy responsibilities with a firm and even hand. That he may receive the Degree of Doctor of Laws, I present the President of the United States, Harry S. Truman.

Conferring of Honorary Degree by

PRESIDENT MCCLUER

Harry S. Truman, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the State of Missouri and by the Board of Trustees of Westminster College, and upon recommendation of the Faculty and Board of Trustees of the College, I do confer upon you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws with all of the honors and privileges and rights thereunto appertaining; in token whereof I hand you this diploma and direct that you be invested with the hood emblematic of the degree. In accepting this hood, Sir, you do honor the institution that bestows it.

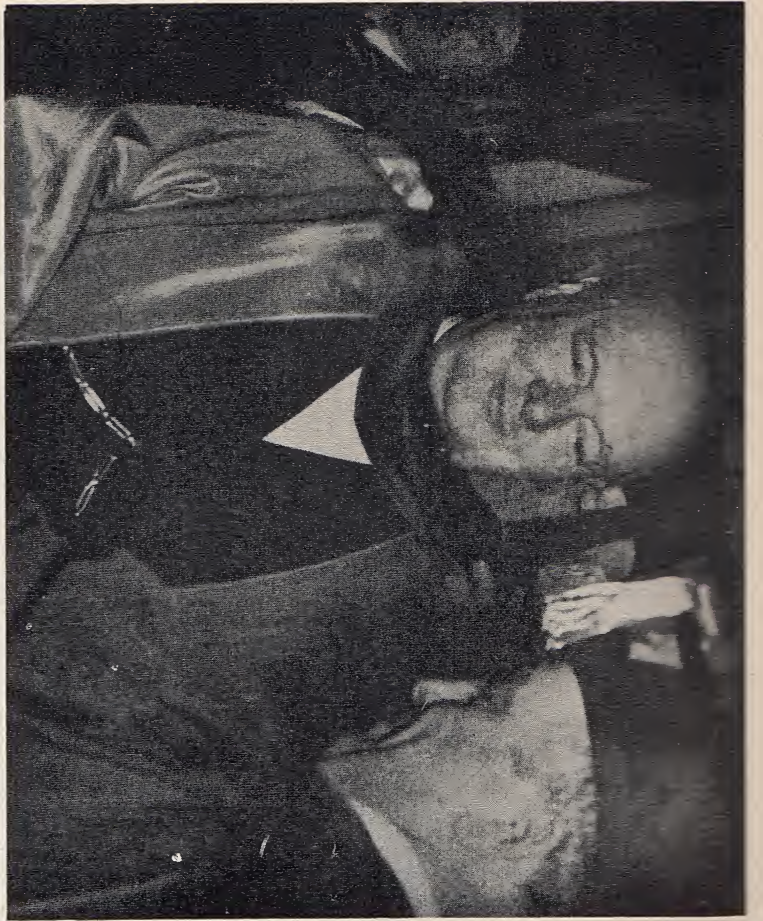
Mr. Truman's Response

Dr. McCluer, members of the faculty of this great institution, ladies and gentlemen: I highly appreciate this honor. I hope I deserve it. I want to deserve it. We do live in perilous times. There never was a time in the history of the world when leadership is so necessary. There never was a time in the history of the world when a moral awakening is so necessary. There never was a time in the history of the world when it becomes your duty and mine to see that this Charter of the United Nations to which Mr. Churchill has just referred so ably and so eloquently is implemented as the law of the land and the law of the world. (Applause.)

We are either headed for complete destruction or we are facing the greatest age in history. It is up to you to decide which path we follow. It is up to me to attempt to see that we follow the path toward that great age and not towards destruction, and that is what I have dedicated my life to do.

The release of atomic energy as a result of the efforts of Great Britain, Canada, and the United States in the great war has given us a force which means happiness and the welfare of every human being on the face of the earth, or it means the total destruction of civilization. I prefer to think that we have the ability, the moral stamina and the energy to see that the great age comes about instead of the destruction and that is what I shall work for.

I thank you.





Mr. Winston Churchill

CITATION FOR *Degree*

By JOHN RAEBURN GREEN,
Member of Board of Trustees of Westminster College

A soldier, orator and statesman, by his indomitable courage, has made it possible to deflect the course of history, to turn back the totalitarian tyrants, and to avert a vast and imminent danger to freedom and religion. I present for the Degree of Doctor of Laws, Winston Spencer Churchill.

Conferring of Honorary Degree by
PRESIDENT McCLUER

Winston Spencer Churchill by virtue of the authority vested in me by the State of Missouri and by the Board of Trustees of Westminster College, and upon recommendation of the Faculty and Board of Trustees of the College, I do confer upon you the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws with all of the honors and privileges and rights thereunto appertaining; in token whereof I hand you this diploma and direct that you be invested with the hood emblematic of the degree. In accepting this hood, Sir, you do honor the institution that bestows it.

Mr. Churchill's Response

Mr. President, President McCluer, members of the faculty — in fact, I may say fellow members of the faculty (Laughter) — I am most grateful to you, to the authorities of the State of Missouri and to the college authorities for their great kindness in conferring upon me another of those degrees which I value so highly and, as I said the other day at Miami they have a double attraction for me in that they do not require any preliminary examination. (Laughter.)

I value very much this token of goodwill which comes from the center of education in the very heart of the United States and in the State which is so dear to the heart of the President of this great country. (Applause.) I shall endeavor to inculcate the sound principles of education on persons of

all ages and especially those of riper years during such periods of useful activity as may be left me. I thank you all here for the great patience, indulgence, kindness and attention with which you have listened to what I have had to say and which I am quite sure will be found upon reflection right and wise to say at this time. I am glad to have had the opportunity and I am grateful to you all to have come here and assisted me to discharge my task.

I am, of course, unswerving in my allegiance to my King and my country, and I can never be entirely a foreigner in the United States, which is my mother's land as well as my ancestors' and where my ancestors were buried on that side of the family for five generations. (Applause.) However, I was puzzled the other day, when one branch of the sons of the Revolution invited me to become a member on the grounds that my forbearers had undoubtedly fought in Washington's Army. (Laughter.) I felt on the whole that I had forebearers on both sides and that I should adopt as far as possible an unbiased attitude. But I may tell you how profound is my love for this great mighty nation of the United States who have long been a refuge to the oppressed of every race and every clime and are now the foremost sons of civilization in upholding the forward march of mankind. (Applause.)

Dr. J. Layton Mauze

THE Benediction

Eternal God, OUR FATHER, there can be no peace for the world save it springs from the hearts of men. We beseech Thee to make us worthy to live in these challenging days. Be with all the nations, and the leaders of the peoples of the world. Be with our own nation, our President, and with all who influence its policies, that the terrific sacrifices of these recent years may not end in the dissolution of mankind or the despair of our children after us.

Now may the Lord bless you and keep you, the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you, the Lord lift up His countenance upon you and give you peace. Amen.



DR. McCLUER: Fifty-eight sons of Westminster College gave their lives to the war. Among our special guests at this program are members of the families of these boys. They are invited to come to my home immediately after the program to be presented to the President and to Mr. Churchill.

The recessional will be in reverse order. The audience will remain seated until after the organ ceases to play.

PREVIOUS
JOHN FINDLEY GREEN
LECTURES

OSCAR D. SKELTON, Ph. D., then Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs for the Dominion of Canada, *Some Gains and Losses of the Present Generation* (University of Chicago Press, 1937).

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FRANCIS B. SAYRE, Ph. D., former High Commissioner to the Philippines, *The Protection of American Export Trade* (University of Chicago Press, 1939).

THOMAS V. SMITH, Ph. D., Professor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago and former Representative in Congress, *The Legislative Way of Life* (University of Chicago Press, 1940).

COUNT CARLO SFORZA of Italy, former Ambassador to China, to Turkey, and to France, and then Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, *The Totalitarian War and After* (University of Chicago Press, 1941, and George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1942).

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Views of Interior and Exterior of Gymnasium, Processional, Exterior of Swope Chapel, Mr. Churchill receiving Degree, through the courtesy of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

President,
Emory Univ.,
Atlanta, Ga.